/25 cont./

121 objects. However, one may likewise see it as a process permitting first acquisition, then the consumption, the enjoyment and the use of that which is acquired.

In the first instance, we deal with technology technique in the strict sense, in other words, with industry and construction. In the second instance, we encounter it through man, insofar as he is the beneficiary. (2)

[113] 2. André Leroi-Gourhan: in his work cited and in another: L'homme et la matière, presents these two points of view in a manner that cannot be equalled.

/26/ The combination of these two points of view is not impossible, especially as industry and construction constitute a mode of acquisition. We should say that it is even indispensable, if we wish to avoid the risk of changing this anthropological study into a purely technological essay from which man would be absent.

128 Thus, this chapter will be set forth accordingly. Under a first heading we shall present the Sarakatsani techniques of acquisition. Under a second, those of consumption and utilization. And we shall close with some general observations on the technology of these herders.

121 Obviouly, in speaking of technological activity we immediately
128 raise problems of work and of the economy. Since the study of these questions is only possible in close connection with the study of social and economic organization, we shall speak of them in due time.

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The Technology of Acquisition

In this domain there are five ways open to the Sarakatsani gathering, manufacture, building, herding, trade. Since the last forms part of their economic system, the first four will be examined here.

222 GATHERING

313 The applicability and importance of this manner of acquisition
824 is limited. The economic goods that the Saracatsan derive directly
312 from nature are:

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222 313 824 312 Wood, insofar as it is the chief material for industry and building; insofar as it is the only fuel for cooking and heating.

Edible plants used for food. It is necessary to add to these the medicinal plants, the basis of traditional therapy.

Grass of the pastures, necessary for the flocks.

Finally, water.

128 /27/ For reasons of synthesis, the details of this process (selection of species, persons charged with this task, etc.) will be examined farther on.

Sarakatsani Crafts

121 The concrete form in which the problem of industries presents itself for the Sarakatsani has of three aspects: raw materials, power sources used, tools.

237 824 The principal raw materials are: wood, wool and skins, hence fibrous and pliant substances of vegetable or animal origin. (3)

3. For our terminology see: A. Leroi-Gourhan, L'homme et la matière, pp. 178, 234 and 235.

325 323 285 One might conclude from the foregoing that the Sarakatsani are ignorant of metals, pottery and basketry. This conclusion is valid only in the last two instances.

323 As a matter of fact, the nomadic life does not permit the maintenance of terra cotta utensils, the fragility of which would be put to a severe test during the travels. Moreover, their manufacture would require more of less stable installations (special ovens, sometimes pottery wheels, sets of tools, etc.), specialized and sedentary personnel who could occupy themselves continually with this, finally a relatively high level of technical knowledge (knowledge of various qualities of clay, of the peculiar properties of heat, etc.). Nothing seems less compatible with Sarakatsani life than such an industry. Furthermore, a certain volume of production would be required to make it profitable, and that, in turn, would require the establishment of means of transportation and considerable commercial relations with the outside. Let us say further that nothing would be less justified than to see

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283 /49/ The Sarakatsani women spin constantly, whenever their hands are free. It is altogether common to see a woman spinning as she walks, [482] [313] her back loaded with a huge bundle of firewood or a tub full of water, in addition to a nursing child.

Winding: the spinning finished, the spinner frees the spindle and, by hand, winds the thread into balls.

294 386 Dyeing: the natural colors of sheep wool are white, black, and in rare instances, brown. The goat wool is gray-black or, exceptionally, a very dark chestnut.

It seems that, traditionally and even recently, the Sarakatsani esthetic was content with the natural color of the wool. Thus, the decorative motifs of the women's clothing were white on a black background. (The men's clothing, or rather the articles they make themselves do not have decorations).

386 However, recently, the Sarakatsani have adopted bright colors (red, yellow or green) for their blankets and their rugs. They have thus learned to dye the wool by using chemical dyes (aniline) bought commercially.

283 386 In order to facilitate permeation, they arrange the wool to start with in hanks which they call vanda. In order to form a vanda they undo a ball by winding the thread around the forearm, that is to say, between the wrist and the elbow. This traditional process is also used during

596 264 [562] /159 cont./ The meals, which the women take care of each in turn, are taken together, allowing for the inevitable separation by sex.

[233] If the shepherds find themselves a relatively short distance from the camp, but nevertheless too far to be able to leave their flocks at mealtime, it is not unusual for a woman or a child to bring them their food.

596 462 The work then, which is performed jointly, follows the rule of division of tasks according to sex, as shown in the following plan:

Work reserved exclusively for men: the wood craft, the preparation of skins, herding and transactions with the outside.

Work done by the women: the working of wool, the making of clothing building, gathering, the preparation of foods and of bread, lighting and fire.

This division of tasks is the general rule, a rule which naturally involves exceptions and subtle distinctions, chief of which are:

[825] [233] The care and maintenance of goats is left to the women because goats "are possessed by the devil." Thus, the men must not touch them. They limit themselves with leading them to pasture. All the rest is incumbent on the women, inasmuch as the Sarakatsani believe that women are more competent than the men to enter into relations with unknown forces.

[23] [235] The occasioned raising of pigs and poultry is likewise left to the women.

[361] [22] [484] We have seen that the leading and the protection of the flocks in the course of seasonal migrations is the business of the men. The women take care of the transportation of all belongings and the setting-up of the camp.

[236] The shearing of the sheep is work generally done by the men, although the help of the women is sometimes required. On the other hand, the shearing of goats is an exclusively female task.

[234] In milking, men and women cooperate without differentiation.

[313] [322] The gathering of wood for making various objects is a task for men,

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462 /159 cont./

[313] as is the manufacture /160/ of the objects themselves. The Sarakatsani
[322] youth specializes from childhood on in wood craft, and is proud of his competence and his skill. Likewise, the work that involves the decoration of these objects is always done by the men. The women never participate, even when it is a matter of distaff or a spindle.

[342] Since certain phases of the construction of huts demand a physical strength that the women do not have (the erection of the framework of the round hut, for example), the men take charge of this work. But here their participation ends. All the Sarakatsani buildings are the work of the women.

[234] As far as milk products are concerned, the men take care of this
[439] work only in very rare cases where the Sarakatsani market these products themselves. All the cheese and butter meant for family consumption is prepared by the women.

[252] The shepherds straying far from camp, as they do during the summer,
[233] prepare their own bread and cook their food. Here necessity prevails over custom according to which women take charge of the preparation of meals.

596 However, there is <u>also another division of tasks, based on technical</u>
233 <u>criteria this time</u>. It concerns, to begin with, the work of shepherds.
463 Each concerns himself with a certain category of livestock, according to his own capabilities. Thus one may distinguish shepherds who are in charge respectively:

--of lambs up to the age of one year,

--of ewes from that age on up,

--of ewes that are pregnant, as well as of milch ewes,

--of sterile ewes,

--finally, of rams.

The most experienced shepherds take care of milch ewes and those that are pregnant. Then come the shepherds who are in charge of the lambs and the little ewes. The other categories do not require special abilities.